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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

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December, 1959

COVER

From the "Saint Jerome Processional," apparently printed at Zaragoza, Spain, by Cocus, 1526. The rubric at upper right freely translates as for "Sunday's procession." The reproduced lines translate: "Angel of the Lord come down from Heaven," although the last line is omitted in this cut. Saint Jerome (Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus), c. 340-420, was born in Dalmatia near Pannonia, studied at Rome, and was baptized by Pope Liberius. Reproduction courtesy Music Division, N. Y. Public Library.

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NATIONAL BOARD CALLS FOR ALL-OUT RENEWAL CAMPAIGN

ATTENTION: NAACP OFFICERS, MEMBERS, AND WORKERS

At its meeting on September 14, the National Board of Directors adopted the following resolution:

> "The National Board of Directors NAACP strongly urges that NAACP units and leaders throughout the country give special attention to organizing and conducting . . . membership renewal campaigns in order that we may realize our goal of one-half million members before the close of our 50th Anniversary year. The National Board further appeals to every interested man and woman, and particularly youth and the leaders of the Negro community throughout our Nation, to join hands with the NAACP in its efforts to reach the 50th Anniversary Goal of 500,000 Members."

Your response to this appeal will be appreciated. Branch officers are asked to act immediately to set up Fall Renewal Campaigns and to enlist community-wide support through the enlistment of members who will canvass their neighborhoods, their churches, and friends for memberships and/or renewals.

WE NEED YOUR HELP

Each member can help by getting two or more additional members and reporting them through the local Branch or to the National Office for credit to the Branch before December 15. We count on your continued loyalty and support.

Sincerely yours,

ROY WILKINS
Executive Secretary

50th ANNIVERSARY MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN
GOAL: 500,000 MEMBERS

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Robert L. Haggins

REALTORS RALLY FOR CIVIL RIGHTS—*George S. Harris (L) president of the National Association of Real Estate Brokers, Inc., presents NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins a $500 check for an NAACP membership. Mr. Wilkins delivered a major address during the 12th annual NAREB convention in New York City.*

■ **Will the Civil War Centennial, this author asks, be a commemoration of reunion or an occasion for Southern propaganda? She thinks it will be the latter**

The Civil War Centennial

By June Purcell Guild

WE are approaching the centennial of the Civil War. Did the war start in 1860 or 1861? Will the centennial become a gigantic southern propaganda spectacle or will it be a time for disseminating before the world American unity and democratic ideals and a time for healing old intersectional resentments?

Although Abraham Lincoln was not an abolitionist and repeatedly said he had no right or plan to interfere with slavery where it already existed he did not believe the institution should be permitted to spread. But Lincoln's moderate views made Southerners hate him; many still do. He was elected president in 1860 and secession started at once. In a real sense then 1860 was the beginning of southern rebellion and the start of the Civil War. It is true however that years before 1860 there had been much southern defiance and belligerency against the federal government. Some of the seeds which later flowered in bloodshed were sown in the late seventeen hundreds by Virginians.

By February, 1861, before Lincoln had been inaugurated seven southern states had seceded, had adopted a constitution and elected Jefferson Davis "president" of their "country." The Confederates did not fire on Fort Sumpter until April 1861; soon after that four more states joined the insurrection.

I do not know what date the Civil War Centennial Commission plans

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JUNE PURCELL GUILD, who lives in Richmond, Virginia, was formerly on the teaching staffs at Virginia Union University and William and Mary. She is a lawyer and author of several books, among which are "Living With the Law" and "Black Laws of Virginia."

whether they count December 1860, February 1861, or April 1861 or some other date as the start of hostilities. It is highly important though that the centennial not be a period of recrimination and a time for more southern propaganda on the legality of secession, the right of states to defy the federal government and the Supreme Court, a time of redoubled reverence for Confederate soldiers and statesmen.

Actually there is in the South at this time so much massive resistance to federal law and the right of the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution that we are experiencing Down Here a period similar in many respects to pre-Civil War conditions. Expressions of animosity and antagonism are pouring forth against the central government on all sides. Nonexistent states' rights just as before the other holocaust are heatedly urged. You hear people say Eisenhower, Warren, even poor old entrapped Governor Almond "should be taken out and shot." It is certainly not a time when people are thinking quietly, reconsidering history, trying to understand the Constitution and the desegregation decisions.

Prince Edward county, Virginia, one of the defendants in the 1954 Brown desegregation case, has not only made no plans of any sort to integrate but on the contrary Prince Edward has been openly hostile to the federal government, critical and defiant of the Supreme Court, and has now decided to close all public schools in the county and bring up her white and Negro youngsters without education rather than obey the law even on a token basis. This act of racial intolerance is "in the finest tradition of American political independence." Thus, says the editor of the newspaper so brilliantly edited by the late fair-minded Douglas Freeman. Now is a time of southern rebellion again with talk of secession and another war. You must live in this atmosphere of tension to feel it on all sides and to fear its consequences.

VIRGINIA'S MUTINY

I have counted myself a Virginian by choice since 1925. Although often away from Virginia I have always kept in close touch with her. I know Virginia intimately, her people, her history, her laws, her attitudes. It is my home, the place where my husband was happiest in a long professional career, the place where he is buried. I love many, many things about Virginia but the growing mutiny here against the federal government frightens me. The centennial worries me no end. Many here are hoping to use the affair as a made-to-order chance to win converts to the "southern way of life." There is joyful anticipation of portraying again the Yankee route at Manassas or Bull Run although no one talks about a colorful review of Lee's failure at Gettysburg or the dramatic surrender of the noble Lee to the victorious Grant at Appomatox.

It has always been possible to see the Confederate flag, the symbol of disunion, in Virginia. Now the number of these flags worn, flying on cars, displayed in stores has reached epidemic proportions. They hang in many public places, very, very seldom in the company of Old Glory. Often in ordinary newspaper cuts you see in the background the Con-

federate flag. This flag waving may be merely a gesture of childish insolence. I fear it is much more than that and expresses a deep dislike for federal authority. After all, the Confederate flag was the beloved banner of so-called southern "independence" and of treason against the United States of America. It seems to mean today what it meant in 1861-1865; that is, Virginia believes herself above and beyond the central government. She is contemptuous of Washington and gives her homage to Virginia. She seems not to know American history, certainly little southern history. If the southern states could legally withdraw from the Union—which of course they could not do—then the states in rebellion could have legally withdrawn from the Confederacy. Some of the southern states believed just that and threatened secession; they defied the Jefferson Davis régime and furiously argued that Davis could not make them furnish state troops for the Richmond government. The illegal states' rights now so ardently advanced Down Here are the same flimsy rights which helped to defeat the South 100 years ago.

CONFEDERATE FLAG DISPLAY

May I here recount an instance when a display of Confederate flags startled and hurt me? I am a member of the beautiful old historic church which Lee and Davis attended during the Civil War and which is now attended by many segregationists and those opposed to the federal government and the Supreme Court. I was walking toward this church one Sunday morning when I noticed in the distance an enormous flag hanging over the main church entrance. It was not Memorial Day, it was not Flag Day, it was not the Fourth of July, it was not November 11th. . . . As I drew nearer I discovered it was not an American flag at all. It was a Confederate flag. With an aching heart I entered the church, supposing that the Second Civil War had suddenly exploded. Over the pulpit was another Confederate flag. Two Confederate flags on high standards were placed on opposite sides of the main aisle. I never encountered anything such as this prior to the 1954 desegregation decisions.

At last the vicar explained: "Today," he said, "is the birthday of Robert E. Lee and the Daughters of the Confederacy are our honored guests." The sermon then developed into a glowing euology of Lee, "the greatest Christian of them all."

Now as a child I had read about Lee and knew his story and his character well. He was indeed a devout fundamentalist Christian and believed his anthropomorphic God made every decision in human lives. It would seem a great many Christian saints could run Lee a tight race for the title of the "greatest Christian of them all"; but religion is not my specialty and so let us pass on. Lee was a bit austere and had little sense of humor. He was a "gentleman"; he loved his family and his surroundings. He came from a long line of able Lees who served their state and their nation with a sense of dedication to righteousness and patriotism. Some of R. E. Lee's ancestors had been states' righters, other had lined up with George Washington and John Marshall for a strong federal government. Lee was an

officer in the United States army when Virginia seceded. Although he did not believe in secession (certainly not in the beginning), nor in slavery, he put his state above his country and fought against his native land for four years. Lee had kin who fought for the nation during the war; his sister was a Union sympathizer. We know that R. E. Lee did what he believed to be right. But at this time of renewed resistance to the government is it not pertinent to ask: *Did Lee do what was right?* Is it right for the South to idolize him so passionately and constantly display the banner under which he ably fought, again in an atmosphere of bitter criticism of "federal usurpation of states's rights?"

There is only one answer possible to such questions when the country is now confronted with more actual resistance to government authority. The South was wrong before; she is wrong today. She is endangering the peace and order of the land to which Washington and Lincoln gave honor and obeisance. By her insurgence, the South caused a bloody fratricidal war. Today she is using the same tactics which precipitated the crisis of 100 years ago. Lee and Confederate flags have always been a part of the southern scene. There is just too, too much of both now. R. E. Lee was a Christian gentleman. That no one could successfully deny. But, to use a dirty word, was he not also a traitor? His father, "Lighthorse Harry" Lee said: "In all local matters I shall be a Virginian. In those of a general nature I shall never forget that I am an American." The son forgot and took up arms against his country.

JEFFERSON DAVIS GLORIFIED

The Daughters of the Confederacy celebrated Davis' birthday recently with reverent prayers, a glorification address, and many wreaths at his Richmond memorial statue. Davis seems to be far more popular today than when he was "president," certainly more worshipped than a few years ago. Too long have we neglected to point out that one of the meanings of 'confederacy" is "an unlawful combination. . . ."

It is tragic that 100 years after the Civil War and with the approaching centennial that we are compelled to speak out honestly and face some unpleasant truths at last. But with the South again carrying on a cold war, spending millions of propaganda dollars to spread distrust of the nation and its highest court, should we not come face to face with realities? White citizens councils, propagators of dissension, distortion, and disunion would stop at nothing to gain a victory against the Supreme Court. Many Dixiecrats are clamoring for the states themselves to appropriate vast sums to persuade other Americans to approve a continuance of southern discriminations against and segregation of dark-skinned American citizens. It is reliably estimated that the Commonwealth of Virginia has spent approximately three million tax-dollars on court cases, special commissions, and special assemblies to nullify the Supreme Court desegregation decisions. Do not be misled: southern Negroes will never have the rights of decent human beings nor the civil rights of American citizens without federal protection.

I have known Virginia for thirty-four years and the increase of white hostility to the federal government and Negroes in the past five years is fraught with consequences so hideous it is disheartening to contemplate them. The tom-toms of rebellion are sounding and the Civil War centennial is to be staged in an area of flaming antipathy to the country. Every loyal American who desires domestic tranquillity and international good will should make it his solemn business to see that the centennial does not become a time of unreasonable adulation of Southerners of questionable loyalty, a time for destroying the constitutional protections of racial minorities, a time for re-affirming non-existent southern states' rights. Every gold ingot in Fort Knox may be safely wagered that the South will attempt to use the centennial as a superior chance to spread misrepresentations of law, history, and science as they are related to American Negroes. I hope and pray the Centennial does not become a colorful picture of southern propaganda, yet already the signs are multiplying that the always shrewd political South is planning to fight another anti-America, anti-Negro villification campaign.

YOUNG ADULT GROUP *of the St. Barnabas Episcopal Church, Germantown, Pa., shown following a special religious service given to gain support for the NAACP. Rector Ascan Holder is in the front row.*

Ted Berry (L) smiles as Mrs. Jones of Jack & Jill, Inc., Rev. Booth, pastor of Zion Baptist Church, and Mrs. Odessa Simms, Optimist Welfare Club, Cincinnati, Ohio, proudly display their NAACP life membership plaque. E. Fred Morrow (far R) of the White House staff, was guest speaker.

Withro Higgins of the Mount Vernon Baptist Church, Durham, N. C., presents a $500 check from his church as a part of Dr. E. T. Browne's, pastor, support of the NAACP program.

Staff of the Upper Manhattan Medical Group receives its NAACP life membership plaque from Kivie Kaplan, (2nd row center), co-chairman of the NAACP life membership committee.

■ An appraisal of George W. Cable's role in the fight for Negro equality

He Spoke Above the Babel

By Henry F. Winslow

PROFESSOR Philip Butcher's *George W. Cable: the Northampton Years** is the interesting fruit of a literary find, and a combination of luck and industry. While Dr. Butcher (now a professor of English at Morgan State College) was pursuing the Ph.D. degree at Columbia University, his inquiries and advisors led him in 1949 to 86-year-old Adelene Moffat and a cache of correspondence and other materials she had in her New York apartment from her 20-year association with Cable. This book, however, is not the dissertation Dr. Butcher filed, but a take-off from it which gives us a much clearer picture of Cable than would otherwise be the case; in fact, it is a valuable piece of new evidence, and as such disturbs the earth under the reputation of a social critic and a man of letters.

Cable was born in New Orleans during the autumn of 1844, and his formative years were shaped partly in the crucible of the Civil War, in which he served as a Confederate cavalryman. In 1859, when Cable was but 14-years-four-months old, his father, broken by business reverses, died of chronic diarrhea, leaving the responsibility of caring for the five-member family to young George and his 17-year-old sister, Mary Louise. In these early years, Cable, adept at mathematics and composition, was a seeker motivated by principle, his points of reference being the Bible, the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence. The fact is, moreover, that the Jeffersonian concept of education for everybody is evident throughout Cable's many works.

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* George W. Cable: The Northampton Years. By Philip Butcher. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. XIII+286 pp. With bibliography and index. $6.00.

The life and works of Cable have recently been treated in an able study by Arlin Turner (Durham: Duke University Press, 1956), a professor of American literature at Duke University, to which Dr. Butcher makes frequent reference. This study was in turn the occasion of one of Edmund Wilson's more engaging critical essays, "The Ordeal of George Washington Cable" (*The New Yorker* magazine, November 9, 1957), the essence of which is that the northern magazine marketplace and its vendors converted Cable from an effective social critic to a false romantic novelist. Similarly, Dr. Butcher notes, after crediting Cable with holding convictions on the Civil War, the Negro and democratic government which clashed with his regional legacy, that "the cultural influences of the North, the practical necessities of his own position, and the careful logic of his reasoning gradually effected further changes in his opinions and his behaviors."

Hence from all these and related information, we gather that Cable's penchant for giving utterance to thoughful convictions about the status of freedmen brought upon him the wrath of the southern press, thus precipitating his exile from his native Dixieland. The most remarkable of his social documents, "The Freedman's Case in Equity," was published in 1885. Reworked from a speech he delivered at the University of Alabama in June, 1884, it was a logical and common-sense plea for human rights. One may suggest its living value by citing its similarity to what Little Rock's Harry Ashmore had to say at Harvard in his Nieman Lecture of February 21, 1958 ("The Meaning of Little Rock," *Nieman Reports* XII [April, 1958], 2):

> I have said of the South that its besetting problem is not the accommodation of the rising aspirations of the Negro people, difficult as that may be, but its inability to reduce the issue to rational terms. In slightly different terms, the same thing is true of the non-South—called upon now to translate its pious principles into action and blinking painfully over the mote in its own eye.

Because he attempted to reduce the issue of race to rational terms by thoughtful discussion, southern editors roasted Cable in the name of their sisters. On January 31, 1885, Cable wrote his wife that he chose not to bring up his daughters " 'in that state of society. . . .' 'The more carefully I study it, the less I expect of it,' " he added. By October of that same year he had moved them to Northampton.

BASIS OF LITERARY REPUTATION

Cable's literary reputation rests mainly on *Old Creole Days* (1879) and *The Grandissimes* (1880). The first originally appeared as seven stories set in or about New Orleans, dipped in local color; the second is the best of his novels. They reflect what he termed " 'the fierce struggle going on around me.' " In analyzing Cable's portrait of Creole society in the New Orleans setting, Dr. Butcher duly notes that "By invariably coupling octoroon women and white men he suggests the pattern, historically correct but not inviolable, which later romances have made a cliché." *The Grandissimes* was the precursor of that slick and shallow substance which Robert Penn Warren sent out

to Hollywood under the title, *Band of Angels*. (One remembers now with mingled humor how one of Dr. Butcher's advisors—professing American literature at Columbia University—southern born and bred, delivered himself (while commenting on *The Grandissimes*) of some charming Dixie phraseology from a lecture platform in the City of New York: "the tender pathos of miscegenation," "the dark stain of miscegenation." Asked later by an English teacher in the New York City school system, and a social worker in that cosmopolitan setting, if he could conceive of miscengenation having tenderness minus either "pathos" or "stain," he further delivered himself of "not in our culture." (A party to an interracial marriage sat quietly in his audience.) Dr. Butcher has quite well combed these and other works of Cable to underscore their social and moral content.

But the new evidence presented in Dr. Butcher's study proves that there is more Cable than meets the eye through Turner and Wilson, or the published works of Cable himself.

In early August, 1887, some seven months after the death of her father, Adelene Moffat and Cable met at Monteagle on Cumberland Mountain. Her father had been a deeply religious temperance lecturer, and Cable stopped at his village retreat during one of his lecture tours. Eighteen years younger than the popular author, she had come to admire him through reading his books. They had much in common: as an impressionable lad he had seen the Crescent City Negro slaves toiling and sweating as they fed the industrial hand that ordered their status —the cotton presses; as a sensitive girl, she had witnessed a lynching; and both had known difficult days owing to financial losses suffered by their respective fathers. Thus they met on the common ground of reforming zeal. Out of their initial meeting a letter-writing relationship was established, leading eventually to what Cable described as " 'the dear good work,' " which serves as a title for one of Dr. Butcher's chapters.

The remarkable Open Letter and Home Culture Clubs founded by Cable and vitalized by the sacrificial dedication of Adelene Moffat represented a move to revive and foster culture. The aim was a worthy use of leisure such as would cut across class lines and leave undisturbed the social distinctions said to be necessary. It was also an opportunity—indeed an avenue of communication —for the transmission of Cable's logic-enlightened views on the problems confronting the freedmen. He sponsored with money Miss Moffat's ambition to study art, so that by the fall of 1888 she was in New York City. During the next winter she was also giving considerable time to circulating copies of Cable's *The Negro Question* to club members. But most of her work went into strengthening and extending the Home Culture Clubs.

CABLE AND CHESTNUTT

Adelene Moffat was Cable's second choice as a secretary. He had sought the services of Charles W. Chestnutt, who was equally ambitious and on a parallel mission. Chestnutt thought well of Cable, but not well enough of the salary Cable offered him to accept the post. In

November, 1889, Cable had tea with the Chestnutt family in their Cleveland home; on the following December 2, he visited the home of James C. Napier, a distinguished colored citizen of Nashville; by late 1890 the Open Letters Club was dead. The southern press had been outraged by one of their own who had lost his manners The Nashville secretary of the Open Letters Club, Vanderbilt University's William M. Baskervill, who held in fee the twin investments of racial purity and regional literary authority, bore the brunt of the attack, then he wrote Cable that he himself abhorred miscengenation—and that he knew no act, speech, deed, or word of Cable's tended in that direction. The cool, well-trained legal head of J. C. Napier all but dismissed the incident as having no particular significance. He heard no crack of doom.

A minor crisis developed at the seat of the Home Culture Clubs in the spring of 1897. Adelene Moffat, bent under the double strain of salary arrears and overwork, offered her resignation. The offer drew from Cable letters of commendation on the quality of her work for consideration by his board; it drew promises, but no partial settlement for fully five years. Meanwhile, Cable began to move into higher company.

In the fall of 1896, Cable met the Scottish novelist James M. Barrie, who admired his work and invited him to make a lecture tour in England. In England by June, 1898, Cable, nerved and skilled by long years of letterwriting, wrote Andrew Carnegie, whom he had met and dined with in London, to ask if he might visit the steel king at Carnegie's twenty-thousand-acre estate some six hundred miles from the English capital city. At the time of his initial letter Cable had forwarded his mail to Skibo Castle, and from Edinburgh three days later he notified them that he was coming. He was enthusiastically received, showered his host with entertainment and praises, and left with Carnegie's promise to furnish money for prizes in some garden competition projects he hoped to launch. Letters he wrote to the Carnegies thereafter moved closer to direct appeals for money: they fawn subtly and overflow with egocentric pleasantries. His protegée herself visited Skibo Castle in 1902, but she came away none the wiser about Cable's requests; yet, in early 1903, Carnegie wrote Cable offering fifty thousand dollars to be invested in the Home Culture Clubs. George W. Cable had at last established an institution and managed to get it on a going basis. Four years later, on March 8, 1907, Cable wrote his classic. Its burden is carried in one of its six paragraphs:

> In plain words, then, the work we have so long pursued together offers you that release which I have longed to see it offer me these ten years and which I would joyfully accept in your place if I could.

He blew his hard-working, honest female partner an occupational kiss of death! What followed was the usual reaction of a woman used and scorned and cast aside. Professor Butcher first visited her on April 12, 1949; he corresponded and held talks with her until June, 1955, seven months before her death. Hard work and years had dimmed her eyes and

dulled her hearing, but her voice was strong and her memory clear; and her heart was still generous!

CABLE'S LAST YEARS

Cable himself lived until the last of January, 1925, at which time he was married to an old neighbor and acquaintance of some 35-years' standing in the family confidence. Having remarried (in 1923) only six months after the death of his second wife and during the ebbing of his powers, he wrote a letter of explanation. It bears comparison to the letter he wrote the Carnegies explaining his second marriage to Kentucky-born Eva C. Stevenson. (He had recommended her qualities to his first wife in 1901 when he saw her in Cincinnati—he met her earlier—three years before the death of Louise in 1904.) He assured the Carnegies that she was ardent, accomplished, charming, mirthful, and not of large fortune as reported in the newspapers, but of " 'enough income to assure her that our marriage adds nothing to my burdens.' " Throughout his facile, footloose, lecturing career he was adept at figures where his own welfare was concerned. He loved nature, gardens and beauty. Verses from Sir Walter Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel,* another novelist who sang in paint, reposed in his fertile memory. His equally fascinating contemporary, that free-loving, heavenly sinner Henry Ward Beecher, recommended Cable's books to his church congregation, visited him at Northampton and planted an Elm tree in his garden. Quiet, modest Calvin Coolidge, destined for high office and dubious distinction, sat on the board of the Home Culture Club.

Dr. Butcher has well mined the sources he came into for a better picture of Cable, but he has not set the little man in broad perspective. When one considers his writings and career in terms of the central cause he espoused and the tall timber of the nineteenth century which fed the selfsame fires, Cable simply pales. When one of his magazine ventures failed, he cried as would a child. At such a point, the wasp-tongued Garrison would have cursed; Douglass spat his old fire and moved on. It is well to say that he was ahead of his time, but this raises the question as to whether he was for all time. It is commendable in that he was able to say what he did despite his regional origin; but too many southern writers have been overpraised merely because they have learned to speak above the babel—in fiction, journalism and scholarship. *The Grandissimes* charms and brings sighs, but it leaves no lasting imprint as to the ultimate reality of the human condition. Cable sought to catch flies with honey, but in neither literature nor life is fly-catching the primary business, or honey the principal ingredient. The steaming, stark reality of grassroots and green requires seasoning, with salt and vinegar. Honey is a delicacy—for the delicate—for dessert; greens make a meal: they contain iron.

■ This author offers an outline review of the changing attitudes of the U. S. Supreme Court toward constitutional equality for the Negro

The Supreme Court and Integration

By David Washington

TRADITIONALLY the American Negro has sought the full enjoyment of his moral and constitutional rights through public persuasion and legal means. It comes not as a surprise then that since the school desegregation decision in 1954, the United States Supreme Court, and that famous decision, have been the targets of a barrage of segregationist-inspired propaganda aimed at lessening the public confidence in the Supreme Court and its decisions.

Many of the attacks have been of an indirect nature, stimulated by the desegregation decision, but resting on other grounds. As Solicitor General Rankin said recently in an address before the American Bar Association at Pittsburgh on March 13, 1959:

The present high winds of opposition are probably one of the more violent attacks and the gale which started this was the segregation cases.

And Charles Alvin Jones, chief justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, pointed out that the real reason for the attacks which assailed the Supreme Court were on grounds other than integration:

Let us stop beating around the bush about this thing. Let us come out in the open and acknowledge the decision which is the real basis for the current widespread criticism of the Supreme Court. The preponderant backing of the attack on the decision in the Nelson Case is made up of those who would undo the Supreme Court's decision in Brown v. Board of Education. [the desegregation decision].

It follows that, since the law is the primary instrument used by the Negro in his drive for equality, nothing could be more detrimental than the success of this anti-Supreme Court propaganda and a subsequent

DAVID B. WASHINGTON is vice-president of the University of Pittsburgh chapter of the NAACP.

development of mass disrespect for the decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

This article then is an attempt to show the fallacious nature of segregationist criticisms of the 1954 decision as a "radical departure from existing law."

The 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution states in part:

> No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the U. S., . . . *nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.*

The present interpretation of this amendment is that state laws in support of segregation violate the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. The story of how the Supreme Court arrived at the present interpretation is more than analysis of transition in legal theory; it is indeed the story of a change in the social and political thinking of an entire nation.

INTENT OF 14th AMENDMENT

The 14th Amendment was submitted to the legislatures of the several states (there being then 37) by a resolution of Congress passed on June 16, 1866. The amendment was ratified, according to a proclamation of the Secretary of State, by a sufficient number of states on July 28, 1868. It was clear that the framers of the 14th Amendment intended to extend federal protection to the "freedmen" for their personal and property rights, but the exact limits of this protection were left for judicial determination. The former slave owners, of course, were unwilling to acquiesce in anything that would carry with it racial equality for their former slaves. The North, while talking about equality, still largely clung to the then prevalent belief that the Negro was an inferior being—a person incapable of real independence and unable to learn anything except the most menial tasks. Out of this background of white-superiority, the Negro-inferiority dogma, the doctrine of separate but equal was conceived.

The post-Civil War Supreme Court immediately minimized the effectiveness of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, and the Civil Rights Acts. For example, in the case of *Hall v. DeCiur*, 1878, the Court ruled that a Louisiana reconstruction law which forbade racial discrimination on public carriers was unconstitutional as a burden on interstate commerce. In three other cases, the Supreme Court struck down lower court convictions of white defendants for (1) breaking up a Negro meeting by force, (2) depriving Negroes of voting rights, and (3) removal of a case to federal court because of the exclusion of Negro testimony in state courts. In 1882 five cases came before the Supreme Court involving instances of private discrimination in violation of the Civil Rights Acts. The Acts were passed in persuance to the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment, and the Court's decision in 1883, further curtailed the scope of that amendment. The Court held that the 14th Amendment gave no authority to the federal government to prohibit *private* discrimination. One lone voice rose in dissent, Justice John Marshall Harlan, who ironically was one of the two southern justices on the Court at that time:

At some future time, it may be that some other race will fall under the ban of race discrimination. If the Constitutional amendments be enforced according to the intent with which I conceive they were adopted, there cannot be, in this republic, any class of human beings in practical subjection to another class. . . .

GRADUAL REVOLUTION

Discrimination by individuals, then, was held not within the purview of the 14th Amendment and in *Plessy v. Ferguson,* 1896, state discrimination on the basis of race was held to be lawful, as long as each race was treated equally. In justification of segregation the Court claimed:

Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts, or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the U. S. cannot put them upon the same plane. . . .

This decision paved the way for discrimination against the Negro in every sector of American life. Scores of jim-crow laws of every type were thereafter enacted and upheld as constitutional. Statutes prohibiting interracial marriage and sex relations were held to be a legitimate exercise of the police power; states were allowed to pass laws prohibiting private schools from teaching white and Negro children in the same classroom; and it was held that Congress had no power to prohibit the separation of races in intrastate commerce.

The decades betwen the "separate but equal" decision of 1896 and the desegregation decision of 1954 were years in which a gradual revolution in the legal, political, and socio-economic status of the American Negro was effectuated. In any discussion of the legal elevation of the Negro, one must keep in mind a concurrent elevation in all other areas.

An early development towards equality under the law was in the area of property rights. In 1917, in the case of *Buchanan v. Warley,* the Court said that the 14th Amendment prohibited a city law restricting colored persons to residence in certain sections of the city. Then, in 1927, an unanimous Court decided that a law which prohibited a Negro from establishing a home in a white area was likewise unconstitutional. But *Shelley v. Kramer,* in 1948, said that restrictive covenants were unenforceable in state courts.

In *Hill v. Texas,* 1942, the Court held that exclusion of Negroes from grand jury duty was a denial of equal protection of the laws. And the failure of Mississippi to place even one Negro on the jury rolls for Lauderdale county, in spite of the fact that over one-third of the county was Negro, moved the Court in *Paton v. Mississippi,* 1948, to reverse the conviction of a Negro for the murder of a white man.

The "separate but equal" doctrine from its birth was never a practical reality. As Alan Paton has stated:

This 'separate but equal' doctrine was firmly rooted in the Southern mind, but produced few blooms until the forties and fifties. . . .

The reluctance of the South to provide equal physical facilities for the Negro laid the basis for the decisions

leading up to the school desegregation decision. It became an obvious fact to everyone, except the intellectually blind, that there was in fact no equality for the Negro under the "separate but equal" doctrine.

OUT-OF-STATE STUDY

The system in many southern states of sending qualified Negro students to northern and western states rather than providing them with graduate and professional facilities within their own states was upset in 1938 in *Missouri ex Rel. Gaines v. Canada*. The Court held that Missouri had to admit Lloyd Gaines, a qualified Negro, to the law school of the University of Missouri since there was no law school at Lincoln University for Negroes. Forcing Gaines to go to one of the neighboring states for his legal education, the Court said, was a violation of the 14th Amendment and a denial of equal protection under the law.

On the authority of the Gaines case, the Court, in 1948, issued a mandate that the State of Oklahoma furnish a colored applicant with legal education by the "white" state university. Following this case, in 1950, the celebrated case of *Sweat v. Painter* held that segregation was improper in the University of Texas law school and in that same year in *McClaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education*, a Negro was ordered admitted to the University of Oklahoma graduate school.

The doctrine of "separate but equal" was crumbling, and though the South attempted to stem the tide, the anti-jim-crow pendulum had swung too far. Laws were passed equalizing white and colored teachres' salaries, and new schools, such as the V. W. Ligon High School in Raleigh, North Carolina, were erected in an attempt to counteract the equality trend.

When the five school cases came before the Court during the October term in 1953, the Court did not decide them simply on the basis of equal physical facilities for Negro and while pupils. Other factors had now to be considered and the main one was the harmful psychological effects of segregation upon Negro students and the resultant sense of inferiority which practice of the "separate but equal" doctrine had produced. As Chief Justice Warren said:

> Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of Plessy v. Ferguson, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. . . . We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place.

Looking back historically, we see that the school desegregation decision was not a "radical departure from existing law" but rather a natural step in the evolution of the Negroes' constitutional rights. To again quote the Solicitor General in speaking of the school desegregation decision:

> It can hardly be assumed that such a construction (in favor of "separate but equal") would have been accepted by the Nation even if some way could have been found to reconcile it with the decisions referred to. The conscience of a great people could not be denied so easily.

In conclusion, the Supreme Court decision in the school desegregation cases was correct not only from the standpoint of modern learning on the

subject of race relations. Perhaps, it is true that law alone will not achieve complete equality for the Negro in America; but, nevertheless, we strive for that goal within a framework of law. Future racial progress then is inseparably linked to the law and the confidence of the American people in our Supreme Court.

We should, therefore, maintain a jealous guard against assaults on the Court and constantly endeavor to remove any doubt in the minds of our fellow citizens that the decisions of the Supreme Court are the "Supreme Law of the Land."

Cecil Layne

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS—*Charles S. Morehead (L), life membership chairman of the New Britain, Connecticut, branch presents a $650 check to NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins for subscription payments on NAACP life memberships solicited through the New Britain branch life membership committee.*

Looking and Listening . . .

HUMAN WASTE

"IN a world in which the educated, opulent white man is in the small minority, how far do we expect a society to be honored that honors him to the exclusion of others?" questions Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell in an address before the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New Orleans, Louisiana, on September 26, 1959.

"There are questions," he goes on, "that should stare down at us from across our desks, our dinner tables, and our legislative benches.

"I will admit that long-term advantages are close to the most difficult thing to see in this world, the hind-sight of historians excluded.

"And yet a great overlooked fact in the United States today is that we are in the act of throwing away a vast reserve of human talent that might well be the critical factor in determining our future economic welfare.

"Here is a piece from the Charlotte North Carolina *Observer:*

"'. . . The bulk of the Negro engineers and the Negro accountants must leave the South if they are to work,' this editorial states. 'The engineer may have been educated largerly at public expense. He may represent the very kind of person that the Southern economy most needs. Still he must go; there is little alternative in the scheme of things. . . .'

This scheme of things that leaves a society no alternative but to drive out people whom it will badly need in another generation seems to me to be suicidal. . . ."

HOEY AWARDS

JOHN P. Nelson, Jr., of the Institute of Industrial Relations at Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana, and Percy E. Steele, Jr., executive director of the San Diego, California, Urban League have been named as the recipients of the 1959 James J. Hoey Awards for international justice.

Presented annually on the Feast of Christ the King, the Hoey Awards are conferred upon two Catholics for distinguished service in the field of interracial justice. This year's presentation was made on October 25 at the Cathedral High School auditorium, 50th Street and Lexington Avenue, New York City.

The James J. Hoey Awards were established in 1942 in memory of the late James J. Hoey, first president of the Catholic Interracial Council.

The Hoey Awards have been given since 1942 to a number of outstanding leaders in recognition of their contribution to the cause of interracial justice, among these are Frank A. Hall, director of NCWC News Service, Washington, D. C.; the late Philip Murray, one time president of CIO; Paul D. Williams, co-

UPI Photo

CANDIDATE IN HAMPSTEAD DISTRICT, LONDON—*Dr. David T. Pitt, the only Negro candidate (Labor) in the British national elections, sits on the steps talking with workman Jimmy Kennedy as he campaigned in his district. Dr. Pitt's opponents were H. Brooke (Conservative) and H. Seigal (Liberal). Dr. Pitt lost, with 13,500 votes, to Conservative H. Brooke, 25,506.*

founder of the Catholic Committee of the South; Mrs. Roger L. Putnam, president, Catholic Scholarships for Negroes, Springfield, Mass.; John B. King, associate superintendent of Schools, N. Y.; Frank Folsom, Radio Corporation of America; and George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO.

Mr. Nelson, a prominent Catholic layman and leading lawyer, a member of the faculty of Loyola University, is an outstanding leader in the cause of interracial justice. He is member of the American, Federal, Louisiana and New Orleans Bar Association.

A native of Massachusetts, Mr. Steele is an active leader in intergroup relations in California. A graduate of Louisiana State College, he holds a degree in social work from Atlantic University. He was the first of his race to be elected state president of the California Social Workers Organization.

NEW YORK WATERFRONT

THE *Newslatter* (October, 1959) of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination reports:

"A break-through in the pattern of racial discrimination on the New

SMILING THROUGH — *A Negro youngster and her white playmates peer through the fence of the playground at Public School 68 (October 8). Despite the initial opposition of white parents to the transfer of 86 Negro children from their homes in a predominantly Negro neighborhood in Brooklyn, N. Y., to a new all-white school in Glendale, Queens, L. I., N. Y., the integration is going smoothly at the school.*

UPI Photo

York waterfront was achieved this summer in the successful conclusion of a complaint brought against the previously all-white Checkers and Clerks Union, Local No. 1, ILA-Ind., one of the port's larger unions.

"In compliance with a Commission proposal, accepted by the waterfront union on the day for which a public hearing had been scheduled, the first two Negroes in the union's history were admitted to union membership, and union officials agreed to submit the application of a third complainant to its executive board for consideration 'without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.'

"Chairman Elmer Carter, who was the investigating Commissioner, termed the change in policy of the union 'one gratifyingly successful' phase in SCAD's prolonged fight against illegal discrimination on the waterfront.

"Under the conciliation agreement, the union promised to end racial hiring and to submit their membership records quarterly for a year for checking by SCAD."

DISCRIMINATION IN MISSOURI

MIKE GREEN (*Community*, October, 1959) gives a summary of the findings of the Missouri Commission on Human Rights derived from a "29-page questionnaire filled out by informed and interested people in all 114 Missouri counties." Here is Mr. Greene's summary of the Commission's conclusions:

- Union membership is denied a large segment of the Negro labor force. Negroes are not employed on the basis of fitness and qualification in private or State employment, but fill mostly menial and unskilled jobs.
- Residential segregation, private reconstructions and community attitudes prohibit Negroes from buying or renting in more desirable neighborhoods. In almost every instance, hotels, motels, apartment houses and rooming houses will not accept Negroes as guests—permanently or temporarily.
- In the majority of Missouri's hotels, motels, restaurants, cafes, soda fountains and drive-ins, Negroes are prohibited from using the eating and sleeping accommodations.
- There is outright segregation in such recreational facilities as town parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, golf links, tennis courts, bowling allies, skating rinks, movies, amusement parks, and drive-in theaters.

These are, of course, generalizations that apply to the state, and not to particular communities within it. The picture changes from community to community.

In Kansas City, for instance, a Negro may enter any downtown theater. He may purchase merchandise in any downtown retail store. He may swim in an integrated swimming pool (although he may do so with the feeling that he is not especially welcome). He may even hold a responsible job in City Hall.

Along one of the city's famous tree-shaded boulevards, Negro families displaced by a highway project, are living in twos, threes and fours, in homes designed for one family. A Negro physician tells me that Negro patients are lined up out to the street at General Hospital—although both general hospitals are in the process of complete desegregation.

Employment here, and elsewhere through the State, appears to be the toughest nut to crack.

Gregory E. Shinert, Executive Director of the Commission on Human

Rights, told me he has evidence of discrimination in State employment. "People have applied for State jobs and have been denied them purely on the basis of race," he said. "People with Ph.D.'s have applied for positions that require only a B.A. degree and been denied." . . .

Cecil Layne

SOUTH CAROLINA HITS BACK—*Maggie McLaughlin presents a $500 check for NAACP life membership to Dr. George D. Cannon, New York Metropolitan area life membership chairman. Purchase was made by the South Carolina League of Bethel AME Church, of which the Rev. Mr. R. A. Hildebrand is pastor. Rev. Mr. Eugene Adair, first vice-president of the League, stands at the right.*

A Mayor Views the NAACP

THE Camden, New Jersey branch of the NAACP has always been one of the most efficient units in the Association. In a community of approximately twenty thousand Negro citizens it consistently maintains a membership of from 2,500 to 3,000.

This admirable record is a tribute to the leadership of Dr. U. S. Wiggins, the branch president and a present member of the National Board of Directors. Dr. Wiggins is also vice-president of the New Jersey State Conference and has quietly and effectively provided direction to a completely dedicated team which has compiled an impressive list of changed conditions in race relations in the Camden community.

These changes are the result of clear, level-headed planning and determined effort. The persons who, with Dr. Wiggins, have constituted the membership and leadership in the branch and the community are among the most distinguished people in New Jersey.

Both the executive committee, which includes persons from all economic levels, and the membership from which it derives are an accurate cross-section of the Negro community.

Through the years the branch has been successful in providing sound leadership in helping Negro citizens to come to grips with their community problems. As a general rule, the city officials and members of the white community have seldom participated directly in branch activities. In previous years, such participation was usually based on political expediency.

In this "Golden Anniversary" year, it seemed important to have public officials aware of the unique contribution of the Association. Accordingly, Mayor Alfred R. Pierce was asked to issue a proclamation, and in it he called attention to the program and the philosophy of the NAACP and its unique contribution to Camden community life. His proclamation was designed to demarcate the week of October 25-31,

1959, as "NAACP Membership Week." Mayor Pierce's "Proclamation," issued on October 23, 1959, follows:

Smith's Photo Service

MAYOR ALFRED R. PIERCE *of Camden, N. J., signs a proclamation, "NAACP Membership Week," in the presence of (from L) Mrs. Gertrude Williams, a membership campaign division leader; Rev. J. Allen Nimmo, an honorary campaign chairman; Dr. U. S. Wiggins, branch president; and Dr. J. W. Robinson, also a campaign division leader.*

PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, on November 19, 1863, one of America's greatest presidents stated in an address that will never be forgotten in America's history at the site of a battlefield in Gettysburg, that our nation is dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal" and that "this is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people"; and

WHEREAS, it is not difficult to teach democracy but it is difficult to live democracy; and

WHEREAS, to put into practice the words spoken by President Lincoln, and which thoughts were earlier expressed in our own Declaration of Independence, requires wisdom, patience, knowledge, understanding and tolerance; and

WHEREAS, it should be the noble ambition of all Americans to work together in common, one with another to fulfil the dreams and visions of our forefathers who saw a nation with a future; and

WHEREAS, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is an organization which has as its objective, the ambition and desire to promote better understanding among races and peoples and to participate in any endeavor to make our country greater and to help it achieve even greater stature in the eyes of the world; and

WHEREAS, this organization seeks to aid the character of men to be more understanding one with another, to walk humbly with each other, and to serve one another rather than self and have those who judge others to use the same degree of justice which they themselves would hope to receive; and

THEREFORE I, Alfred R. Pierce, Mayor of Camden, do hereby proclaim the week of October 26 to October 31, 1959 as MEMBERSHIP WEEK OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

/s/.....

ALFRED R. PIERCE
Mayor

THIS *booth was entered in the Utah State Fair by the Salt Lake City branch, the first time the branch had entered a booth at the fair. Personnel manning the booth distributed more than 15,000 pamphlets and other reading material in addition to answering the questions of visitors.*

Cecil Layne

JOINING FOR LIFE—*Samuel R. Pierce (L), judge of the N. Y. Court of Appeals of General Sessions receives his NAACP life membership plaque from NAACP national board member, Jackie Robinson. Presentation was made in the national office of the NAACP. Judge Pierce is the son-in-law of the late Dr. Louis T. Wright, chairman of the NAACP board of directors from 1934 until his death in 1952.*

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Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

FLORIDA PROBE FAILS

UNABLE to pin the Communist label on the NAACP, a Florida legislative investigating committee retaliated by calling for the jailing of the Association's state president and for contempt citations against two other NAACP leaders in Florida.

Concluding its two-day hearing in Tallahassee on November 2, the committee recommended to the State Legislature that it impose a jail sentence upon the Rev. Mr. Leon Lowry of Tampa, NAACP state president in Florida, because he was unable to appear at the hearing due to church duties.

Mr. Lowry was present for the opening session, and was not called. He could not remain over until the second day.

Contempt proceedings were ordered against the Rev. Mr. Theodore R. Gibson, president of the Miami branch, and Rev. Mr. Edward T. Graham, former president of the Miami branch. Both refused to reveal the names of members of the Association on the ground that public listing of the members would expose them to economic reprisals and other pressures.

The hearing was part of an effort, begun by the legislature more than a year ago, designed to discredit the NAACP by charging Communist infiltration. Since court decisions limited the scope of the committee's interrogations, the case collapsed when the committee's own witness, Arlington Sands, refused to identify photographs of some thirty alleged NAACP members which were shown to him.

In addition to the two clergymen, the committee also questioned G. E. Graves, an attorney of Miami; Mrs. Ruth W. Perry, secretary, and Mrs. Vernell Albury, treasurer, of the Miami branch.

Representing the NAACP witnesses were the Association's general counsel, Robert L. Carter, New York City, Frank Reeves, Washington, and Mr. Graves.

WILKINS' BIRTHPLACE MEMORIALIZED

A house now being demolished to make way for a huge urban renewal project has been memorialized by the St. Louis branch of the NAACP as the birthplace of executive secretary, Roy Wilkins.

An NAACP life membership scroll commemorating Mr. Wilkins' birthplace was presented to Mrs. Nellie G. Wilkins, the NAACP leader's stepmother, at the branch's sixth annual tea on Sunday, November 8. Presenta-

HONORING A HOUSE THAT WAS HOME—*Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson (L), president of the St. Louis, Missouri, branch presents an NAACP life membership plaque to Mrs. Nellie G. Wilkins, stepmother of NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins. This life membership, the first of its kind, memorializes the local house that was the birthplace of the NAACP executive.*

tion was made by Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson, president of the St. Louis branch.

NAACP $500 life memberships have frequently been taken out in memory of individual persons but this is the first to memorialize a person's birthplace. Announcement that the branch had purchased this unique life membership was first made at the Association's 50th anniversary convention in New York City last July.

The scroll certifies that an NAACP life membership "is hereby vested in 2818 Laclede Avenue, Saint Louis, Missouri, birthplace of Roy Wilkins." The site of the homestead is within two blocks of the present NAACP branch office in St. Louis.

The future NAACP executive secretary was born at that address on August 30, 1901, the son of Mr. and Mrs. William D. Wilkins. His father, at that time a foreman in a brick kiln, later studied theology and became a Methodist clergyman. Roy lived there until he was about four years old. After his mother died, he and his brother and sister went to live with relatives in St. Paul, Minnesota. The Rev. Mr. Wilkins died in 1950.

The special life membership, the scroll asserts, was purchased "in recognition of the devoted service of a native son to the cause of freedom" and as a permanent testimonial to the branch's "faith in the cause and future of the Negro in the United States and in the foundation principles of the American Republic."

Mr. Wilkins joined the NAACP staff in 1931 as assistant secretary. Following the death of Walter White, he succeeded to the position of executive secretary in 1955. He has also served the Association as editor of its monthly organ, *The Crisis*, and as administrator. Previously, he had been managing editor of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Call*.

STUDENTS RAISE $1200 FOR NAACP

MRS. DAISY BATES of Little Rock fame was the principal speaker at a mass meeting of the Central State College, Ohio, NAACP college chapter in November where she raised $1,200 for the Association.

MEMBERS *of the New Hope Baptist Church, Nashville, Tennessee, participating in the "Freedom March" sponsored by the church to raise money among the churches for the NAACP's golden anniversary. This church, pastored by Rev. J. F. Grimmett, president of the Tennessee State Conference, contributed $500.*

Cecil Layne

TWO MINDS MEET—*President Sékou Touré (L), of the African Republic of Guinea, delves deep to demonstrate a point for NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins. The conversation took place at the recent New York City dinner, Hotel Roosevelt, sponsored by the NAACP and the American Committee on Africa honoring President and Mme. Touré.*

Some 1,500 people heard Mrs. Bates express the need for "courageous young people. They are the ones who will have to go forward with this march for integration because they aren't as indoctrinated with white supremacy as are the adults," she said.

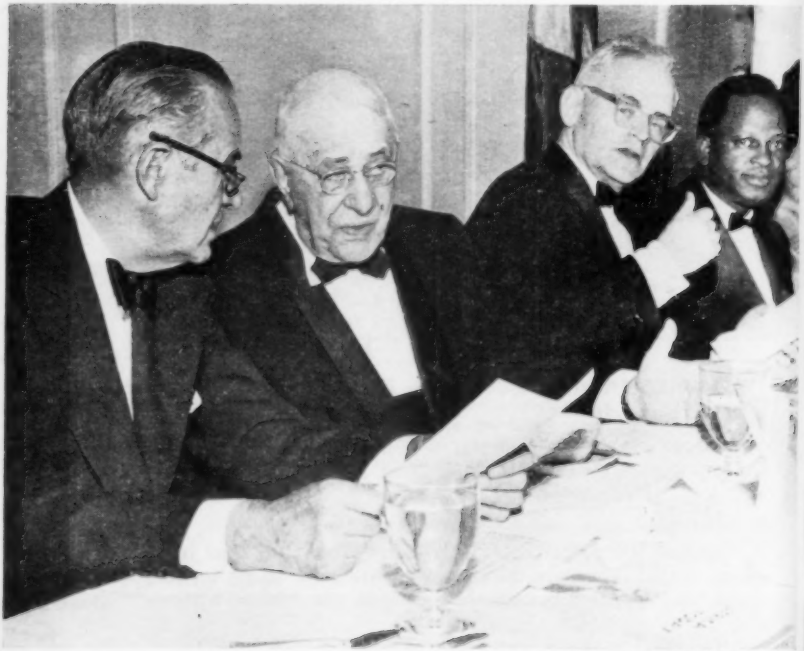
Dr. Charles Wesley, president of Central State appealed to other colleges, universities and high schools to join in the Association's drive for 50,000 youth members.

Herbert L. Wright, youth secretary of the NAACP, made a few brief comments concerning the progress that is being made by the NAACP. He commented on the changing attitudes of educational leaders towards admit-

ting Negroes to their institutions. He said that they are being conditioned to the fact that all the Negroes that they admit into their schools will not be straight "A" students as they have been in the past when only the exceptionally bright students were admitted. He explained that the Negro race is a normal race with students of varying abilities.

BOARD COMMENDS RANDOLPH

THE NAACP board of directors has endorsed A. Philip Randolph's "crusade to rid the American labor movement of all vestiges of racial discrimination and segregation."



Cecil Layne

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AT TOURE DINNER—*Among the dais guests at the recent NAACP-ACA sponsored dinner for President Sékou Touré of Guinea were (from L) former New York governor W. Averell Harriman, NAACP president Arthur B. Spingarn, American Committee on Africa's Homer A. Jack, and Guinea finance minister Fodeba Keita.*

Cecil Layne

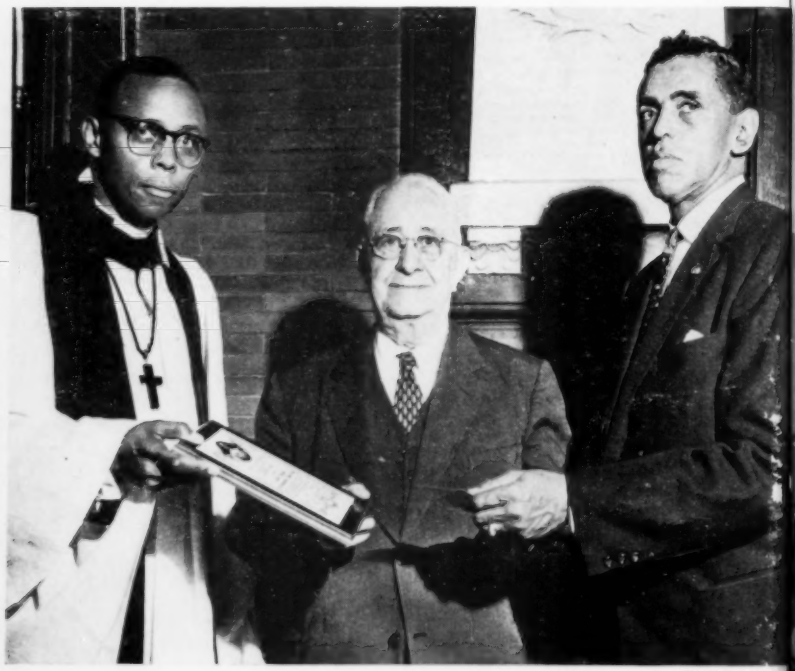
HANDSOME WOMAN OF DESTINY—*Mme. Sékou Touré (center), lovely wife of President Touré, listens attentively to her husband's address at the dinner given in his honor by the NAACP and the American Committee on Africa. At right is the Rev. Mr. Donald Harrington, chairman of the American Committee on Africa. The State Department interpreters are in the rear.*

A resolution adopted by the board at its regular monthly meeting in New York City on October 13 "reaffirms complete confidence" in Mr. Randolph and "assures him of its full support."

The labor leader, the resolution asserts, "in calling for the elimination of trade union jim-crowism at the San Francisco convention of the AFL-CIO voiced . . . the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of Negroes both within the labor movement and outside.

"As he continues his heroic struggle for democratic, color-blind trade unionism, we commend him for his efforts, express to him our gratitude and renew our pledge of support and cooperation in a sustained attack upon the manifestations of racial prejudice wherever they occur in the labor movement, in industry or in government."

Previously, on September 24, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the board, sent a telegram to AFL-CIO president George Meany asserting the Association's support of Mr. Randolph's demand "for positive action by the AFL-CIO against racial discrimination and segregation within its ranks as elsewhere in American life."



Cecil Layne

THE REV. DR. MORAN WESTON, *rector of St. Philips Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City, receives an NAACP life member plaque for his church from Arthur B. Springarn (center), president of the NAACP. Ira Aldridge, vestryman, gives the $500 check which covers the life membership. St. Philips has the largest Protestant Episcopal congregation in the United States.*

What the Branches Are Doing

Georgia: Mrs. Blanche McSmith, president of the Anchorage, Alaska, branch, was main speaker at the closing meeting of the Georgia State Conference of NAACP Branches held in Augusta.

Illinois: Membership-drive goal of the CHICAGO branch is 35,000 members, which is almost double the 25,000 the branch signed up last year.

Youth councils of the branch presented their youth talent show, "Like Nothing Else," at the Du Sable High School on October 23. The show was both youth planned and youth run.

Smith's Photo Service

"PHILLY FREEDOM FUND DINNER COMMITTEE"—*This committee, consisting of (from L) Dr. Harry J. Greene, Hon. Theodore O. Spaulding, and Dr. James P. Ramsey, arranged the Philadelphia, Pa., Freedom Fund Dinner, held on December 6, at which 100 Philadelphians paid $100 a couple for admission.*

Massachusetts: The New England regional conference *Newsletter* reports the following items:

The second annual fight-for-freedom dance sponsored by the New London branch on October 2; the fifth annual membership banquet of the Merrimac Valley branch on October 2; the golden anniversary banquet of the Berkshire County branch on October 24; and the co-sponsored inter-group-relations conference of the Springfield branch.

Eric Lowensterm, a regional life member from the NEW BRITAIN branch, reports that four out of five colored churches in New Britain have already made payments on their NAACP life memberships. The branch itself has taken out an NAACP life membership.

The membership rally of the New England regional youth conference, which was marked by a "membership-kick-off rally" on September 26, closed with a victory ball held in Hartford on November 7.

Mrs. Arlease B. Harvey, youth work chairman and assistant secretary of the regional board, was recently elected to serve a three-year term on the board of directors of the Waterbury YWCA.

Governor Abraham Ribicoff has appointed Dr. Sedric J. Rawlins, first vice-president of the HARTFORD branch, to the Connecticut State Parole Commission to succeed Jackie Robinson, who resigned.

The mayor of Hartford has appointed Betty Shepard of the Hartford branch to a five-member fair-rent commission.

Vice-president Dr. Mary C. McLean of the Springfield branch is one of twenty-one who have received visiting professorships at Boston College. She will lecture on education in the graduate school of arts and sciences.

New England regional NAACP life member Rev. Edward Coleman has been appointed to the relocating committee of the Urban Renewal Commission of Stamford.

FRANCES A. TYRRELL CHAPTER No. 60, O.E.S., *of the Prince Hall Rite of Adoption, San Francisco, California, receives its NAACP life membership plaque from Noah Griffith.*

Michigan: An outstanding feature of the recent membership drive of the GRAND RAPIDS branch was the great number of initial payments on NAACP life memberships. At least seven people made their initial $50-payments.

The TRI-CITY branch has been recently engaged in picket activities against the Rouge River Savings Bank in an effort to convince bank officials that the branch means business in its protest against the bank's refusal to hire Negroes. And this in spite of the fact that about ninety per cent of the bank's depositors are Negroes.

The DETROIT branch reports that it has been having lengthy discussions with the local mayor on the subject of housing. There are continuously repeated charges that the Detroit Housing Commission practices racial discrimination, and a report of the Community Relations Committee seems to support these charges, although they have been denied by the DHC.

Minnesota: The MINNEAPOLIS branch sponsored a special conference on civil rights, with three sessions, October 16 and 17. Rev. Martin Luther King gave the opening address. Other speakers were Brooks Hays, Little Rock; Carey McWilliams, editor of *The Nation;* C. Wright Mills, author and professor of sociology at Columbia University; Truman Nelson, author; Allen Tate, poet and professor English at the University of Minnesota; and others.

PRINCE HALL GRAND CHAPTER *of New England and its Jurisdiction Order of the Eastern Star receive their NAACP life membership plaque from Clarence Scott. The occasion was the 65th anniversary program of the Grand Chapter held in the Bethel AME Church, New Haven, Connecticut, on September 16. Pictured (from L) are Mrs. Bertha Walker, grand secretary; Mr. Scott, NAACP life membership representative from national office; Mrs. Charlotte Congo, grand association matron and chairwoman of the celebration; Mrs. Adele Emery, grand worthy matron; and Willie Roberts, grand worthy patron.*

Coleman-Clinton-Stoner

Cecil Layne

NEW YORK CITY FINANCIER *Harry A. Hyman (L) presents his check to Russell P. Crawford, former president of the Manhattan branch, to become a subscribing NAACP life member. The presentation was made in honor of Alvah Dean, late chairman of the branch Labor and Industry Committee, at a testimonial dinner-dance at the Hotel Commodore honoring Mr. Crawford. The lady in the picture is Mr. Dean's widow, Mrs. Goldie Dean.*

NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins was principal speaker at the second annual freedom fund banquet of the ST. PAUL branch. Co-chairmen of the banquet were Gareth Hiebert, Mrs. George Holland, and Samuel L. Scheiner.

Nevada: The regular monthly meeting of the RENO-SPARKS branch was held on October 18. The branch has joined the "Honor Guards" by subscribing for an NAACP life membership.

New Jersey: More than 300 persons attended the regular monthly meeting of the JERSEY CITY branch in October to hear a discussion of the college bond issue which was a referendary item on the ballot in

CHAIRMEN *of various projects of the 1959 Columbus, Ohio, freedom fund effort get together to go over plans. Shown seated (from L) are Mrs. Ann Smith-e-Incas, life memberships; Mrs. Mary McCafferty, Christmas seals; Ruth Steptoe, clubs and organizations of youth; Mrs. Lillian Allen, coffee hour; (standing) Floyd Brown, clubs and organizations; Mrs. Ferne Henderson, general chairwoman; and Dr. Wilburn Weddington, co-chairman life memberships.*

November. Louis Alexio, field representative for the Citizens Committee for College Opportunities in New Jersey, was the guest speaker.

Executive secretary Roy Wilkins was guest speaker at the 1959 annual freedom fund banquet sponsored by the branch on November 29. Mrs. Elsie Hughes and Mrs. Elaine Brown were co-chairwomen of the banquet committee, which consisted of John Bell, Jr., Warren Dillard, Rev. Ludley Laughlin, Alfred Thomas, Marvin Waters, Ann Smith, and mesdames Beatrice Daniels, Shirley Rutherford, Costello Foster, Hortense McCarroll, Natalia O'Bannon, Sannie Rolls, Norma Thurston, Vivian Watkins, Ruth Massey, Gwendolyn McClow, Suzabbe Madison, and Marcella West.

New York: The Press and Publicity Committee of the NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES, which is headed by Dr. Eugene T. Reed of Amityville, is now issuing a pocket-size, illustrated quarterly called *Focus:* On Human Rights. The first issue, Fall 1959, has 24 pages of pertinent information about the NAACP, its activities, and pictures of NAACP personalities and workers.

First Negro history lecture in the series being co-sponsored by the

JAMAICA branch got off to a flying start on October 1 with a lecture by Dr. John Hope Franklin.

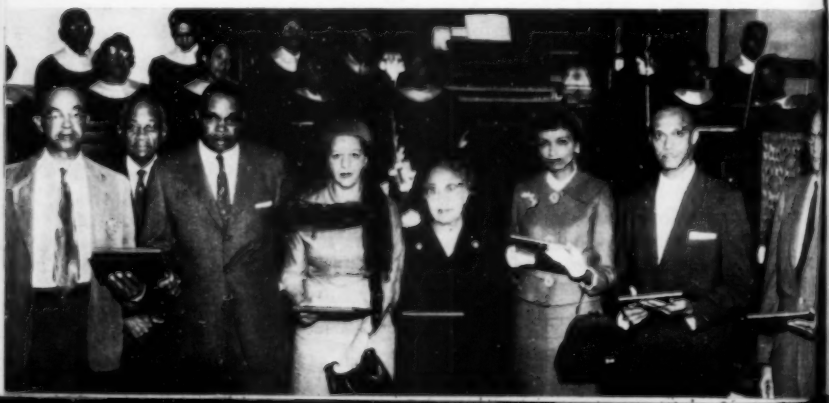
The BRONX branch honored NAACP president Arthur B. Spingarn with a testimonial dinner on October 18. Judge Hubert T. Delany, NAACP national board member, was the guest speaker.

The WILLIAMSBRIDGE branch now has a junior youth council for youngsters between the ages of 8 and 14. Advisors are Mrs. Eileen Carlisle, head, Saundra McPherson, Elbert Tolson, Walter Simon, and Sonja Nixon. All except Mrs. Carlisle are members of the branch youth council.

Here are the "ten commandments" for NAACP youth as detailed by the Williamsbridge branch: "I. Go as far as you can in education. II. Be prepared and ready when opportunity knocks. III. Work before school, after school, at night, but finish school at any cost. IV. Make the most of every opportunity for advancement. V. Get a bank account not only for the purpose of saving, but to use to make a better life for yourself and your family. VI. Be interpreters of the Negro world to the white world. They need you as much as you need them. VII. Learn to be non-prejudiced. Accept the "one-world" theory. VIII. Even though it took your elders twenty years to appreciate the worth of the NAACP, learn now to appreciate its aims and teach others to do so. IX. Learn pride of race, pride of heritage, and pass along this pride born of knowledge to your family and friends. X. Always strive to do all in your power to be a first-class citizen."

Oregon: Annual fashion show of the PORTLAND branch was held on September 11 at the Rose Bowl Room of the Multnomah Hotel. Patricia Ann Williams, "Miss Sacramento of 1959," graciously attended as the feature attraction of the show.

NAACP life membership plaques are presented to the Second Baptist Church, Columbus, Ohio, the first Columbus church to purchase life memberships. Five other NAACP life membership plaques were presented at the same time to Victory Matrons, Mrs. Lulu Gee Mitchell, Columbus Chapter of Girl Friends, the Merry Makers, and Dr. R. K. Stephens.



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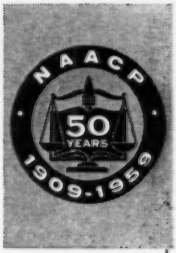

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for the general work of the Association through sale of NAACP Holiday Seals. Buy them in blocks of $2, $5, $10, $25 and up, as well as smaller quantities of 25¢, 50¢, and $1.

WRITE Bobbie Branche, Director of Seal Campaign, 20 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y., or get in touch with your local branch.

JAZZ FOR CIVIL RIGHTS PART II was presented Sunday afternoon October 25, at New York's famed Birdland night club. It was sponsored by the Metropolitan, N. Y., chapter of Jack and Jill Club of America, Inc. All proceeds went to further the work of the NAACP.

All the artists involved contributed their talents free. They included Cab Calloway, Frankie Lymon, "Big" Miller, Joe Carroll and the Misses Thelma Carpenter, Jean Austin, Linda Hopkins, and Mickey and Kitty, singers.

From the world of "cool" jazz came Phineas Newborn, pianist, and Kenny Burrell, guitarist.

From the world of humor came Slappy White and Timmie Rogers, comedians. Larry Steele, producer of "Smart Affairs" shared master of ceremonies duties with Allan Morrison, New York editor of *Ebony* magazine.

Pianist-arranger Luther Henderson also appeared. Miss Delores Daniels, assistant director of publicity and advertising for United Artist Records, coordinated the show.

Mrs. Delma Collier of St. Albans, N. Y., headed the benefit committee, and was assisted by Mesdames Amelia Pritchard, LaValla Simmons, Marjorie Rochester, Virginia Greene, Mae Damond, Theresa Jeffress and Caroline Greene.

From top down, "Big" Miller, blues singer; Cab Calloway, actor, singer and orchestra leader; Timmie Rogers, comedian; and Thelma Carpenter, jazz singer.

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College and School News

The center for African Studies at THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH held a panel discussion on "Africa's Past Achievements and Present Progress" on October 14. Sanford Griffith was panel moderator. Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom representative on the UN Trusteeship Council; Dr. F. D. Patterson, president Phelps Stokes Fund; and Dr. H. Wieschhoff, director of UN trusteeship division; were the panel speakers.

■

Dr. Howard W. Kenney, M.D., MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE, 1944, has been appointed manager of the Veterans Administration Hospital at Tuskegee. He had previously been director of professional services at the hospital.

The ninth annual report of the Mount Sinai Hospital, Greater Miami, Florida, lists five Meharrians as serving on the hospital medical staff. They are W. A. Patterson, M.D., 1941, general practice; James K. Johnson, M.D., 1943, out-patient service; Aubrey W. Henry, M.D., 1944 (December), obstetrics and gynecology; George A. Simpson, M.D., 1950, general surgery; and Dazelle Simpson, M.D., 1950, pediatrics.

■

Founders' day ceremonies and formal dedication of the new science building was held at TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE on October 28. The dedication address was given by Dr. Theodore K. Lawless, noted dermatologist of Chicago, Illinois, who spoke on "My Experiences with Science."

■

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DIRECTOR of ADMISSIONS and PLACEMENT

LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE is one of the thirty colleges participating in the testing of scholarship admission candidates from high schools throughout the United States and the Virgin Islands. Livingston administered the cooperative intercollegiate examination, November 30-December 12, 1959.

Among performers on the Livingstone college lyceum series for 1960 are Betty Allen, soprano, January 8; Kenneth Spencer, baritone, February 12; and Rawn Spearman, tenor April 15.

■

Twenty-one HOWARD UNIVERSITY alumni who toured Europe ten years ago as members of the Howard Players returned to the campus November 5-7 for their first reunion since graduation.

The troupe toured the Scandinavian countries and Germany for three months, performing plays by Norwegian and American authors. As a result of the tour the players were given a special award in 1949 for "international public relations" by the American Public Relations Association.

The three faculty members who accompanied the group are Dr. Anne Cooke Reid, professor and head of the department of the drama; and Owen Dodson and James W. Butcher, associate professors of drama.

■

Reverend Mr. J. Wynn, formerly professor of homiletics and dean of students, has been elected acting president and director of GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY to succeed Dr. Harry V. Richardson.

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DIRECTOR OF ADMISSIONS

A recent report of the NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS points out three major achievements of NSSFNS: helping in the enrollment of 520 entering freshmen in 263 colleges, with $303,347 in scholarship aid; obtaining new two and three-year foundation grants for additional NSSFNC supplementary scholarship aid and for increased professional staff and services; and the launching of a development program to broaden the base of NSSFNS financial support outside of regular budget sources.

■

Election of Stanley C. Hope, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, as chairman and John H. Wheeler, president of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham, North Carolina, as a mem-

ber of the board of directors of UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, INC., has been announced by Thomas A. Morgan, retiring chairman.

The choirs of Xavier, Clark, St. Augustine's, Bennett, and St. Paul were heard during the month of November on the ABC Radio Network series, "Negro College Choirs." These choral groups belong to the member colleges of the UNCF.

■

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE has received a $10,500 grant from the National Science Foundation for the support of research entitled "Reagents for Identification and Chromatographic Separation of Colorless Organic Compounds." This research will be under the direction of Dr. E. O. Woolfolk, professor of chemistry at CSC.

■

The USA has a higher proportion of low income families than Great Britain, according to associate professor John B. Lansing of the department of economics and a program director at the UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN research center. More than eight per cent of America's spending units have incomes of less than $900 annually; while less than five per cent of all British spending units fall into a comparable income category.

There are four reasons suggested for these findings: a large population of low-income farmers in the USA; an extensive social security program in Great Britain; the existence of a larger group of low-income, unskilled manual workers in USA; and, underlying all these, the relatively poor economic position of Negroes in the United States.

More than a third of America's low income farmers and more than a third of low income, unskilled workers are Negroes. Both these groups had less than $1,000 income in 1953.

"The British population, on the other hand," the report finds, "is nearly homogenous and does not contain significant groups of workers who can be paid at lower rates than the generally accepted minimum."

■

The WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY players made their first dramatic presentation of the year, Michael Gazzo's *A Hatful of Rain*, in the Jones Auditorium on October 16.

■

Sixteen students, both foreign and American, are attending BOSTON UNIVERSITY this year under an international scholarship program of The Methodist Church. The students are among 110 Methodist Crusade Scholars studying in 39 educational institutions in 19 states and the District of Columbia. Boston University received the second largest number of scholars of the individual schools.

■

DILLARD UNIVERSITY paid homage to its founders and honored its alumni in a joint celebration of

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Founder's Day and Homecoming, October 23-25. The event marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of Dillard. Featured speakers were Dr. Buell Gallagher, president of the College of the City of New York, and Dr. Theodore K. Lawless, noted Chicago dermatologist, recently elected president of the university board of trustees to succeed the late Edgar B. Stern, Sr.

■

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY is one of the thirty colleges participating in administration of the Cooperative Intercollegiate Examination between November 30 and December 12.

The university committee on religious emphasis began a series of guidance programs for freshmen and sophomores on October 6. Annual homecoming celebration was held on the campus, October 23-24.

William Warfield, singer, and the "Count" Basie band gave concerts at the university in October.

■

Forty-fourth annual convention of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was held at FLORIDA A&M UNIVERSITY, October 15-17. The three-day program, with many noted speakers, was arranged by Dr. Tinsley L. Spraggins, chairman of the history department at Virginia Union University.

■

The election of C. DeWolf Gibson as a vice-president of the board of trustees of THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY has been announced by Alexander M. White museum president. Mr. Gibson's post is a newly established vice-presidency. Two other vice-presidents, Frederick M. Eaton and Robert G. Page, already serve on the board.

Colin Turnbull has been appointed assistant curator of African ethnology at the museum. Mr. Turnbull, born in England in 1924, is an authority on the pygmies of the Belgian Congo and first became interested in African ethnology while a student on a motorcycle tour of Africa in 1951.

■

A drive to complete the gathering of funds to make available an alumni house on or near the VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE campus was launched by the VSC alumni association at the college homecoming game on October 31.

Edward P. Hurt is relinquishing his duties as head coach of football at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE, to be effective with the close of the 1959 season, according to an announcement of President Martin D. Jenkins. Mr. Hurt will continue, however, to serve as athletic director, professor of physical education, and coach of track and field. Mr. Hurt has been head football coach at Morgan for thirty years.

Morgan has received a $103,000 Ford Foundation grant to finance, over a four-year period, an institute for political education. The institute, which opend this fall, is headed by Dr. G. James Fleming, professor of political science.

■

Official figures for the fall enrollment at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY show an increase of sixty-three students over last year's first semester registration. Of the 598 students enrolled, the greatest increase in enrollment is in the departments of mathematics, chemistry, and biology. Seventeen foregin students are enrolled this year.

John H. Johnson, president of the Johnson Publishing of Chicago, Illinois, was convocation speaker as the university celebrated the anniversary of the granting of its charter in 1867. The exercises were held on October 16 in Sisters Chapel of Spelman College.

Atlanta formally opened its new collection of contemporary art on October 25 in the new exhibition room of the Trevor Arnett Library.

Dr. Paul L. Clifford, university registrar, has been named local representative to receive nominations for the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation. Other appointed representatives in the Atlanta University Center are Dean A. A. McPheeters, Clark College; Dean B. R. Brazeal, Morehouse College; Dean Prince Wilson, Morris Brown College, and Dean Irene Asbury, Spelman College.

The scholarships, established to encourage college seniors of ability to consider college teaching careers, carry a stipend of $1,500, plus tuition and fees, and, in case of married fellows, a dependency allowance for wives and children.

■

BISHOP COLLEGE has received an anonymous gift of $7,500 to be used to develop a communications laboratory which will provide experiences for students in English and in foreign languages. The laboratory will be under the direction of Dr. Rea McCain, chairman of the division of humanities and chairman of the department of English.

Bishop is one of the thirty colleges participating in the administration of the Cooperative Intercollegiate Examination Program.

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Book Reviews

"PAGANISM OF THE WEST"

Voodoo: in Haiti. By Alfred Métraux, Translated from the French of *Le Vaudou Haïtien*, by Hugo Charteris. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. 400pp. $6.50.

Foreigners are likely to view Haitian Voodoo as amusement or as grim African atavism. Actually, however, it is neither. Though colored by Catholicism, Voodoo is a primitive religion of African origin. "Paganism of the West," the author calls it. Voodooists demand of their religion what votaries have always demanded of a religion: remedies for their ills, satisfaction of their daily needs, and the hope for survival after death. The divinities worshipped by Haitian peasants, and upon whom they depend, are called *loa*, although they may be called *mystères* or *saints* in some parts of the country.

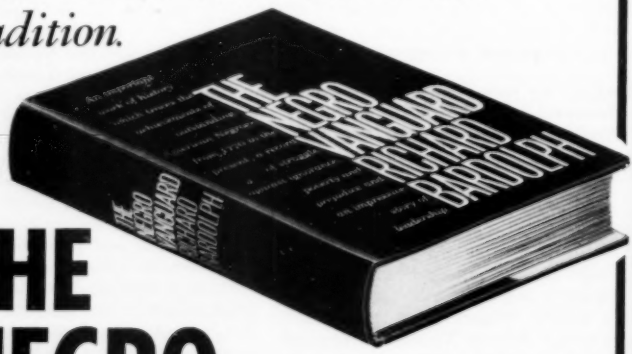
The *loa* communicate with the faithful by incarnating themselves, during dances and ritual ceremonies, in men and women who then fall into mystic trances and thereby become the "horses of the loa." "The relationship between the *loa* and the man seized is compared to that which joins a rider to his horse." The possessed now becomes the mouthpiece of the *loa* who is riding him; the god now embodied in the disciple speaks out.

By this means the Voodoo faithful enter into direct contact with the spiritual world, although such intimacy does not imply real connection with the god, since the possessed is only a receptacle, or an instrument, used by the god to reveal himself to his followers.

In order to obtain favors from the *loa* and to know their wills, recourse is had to priests and priestesses, *hungans* and *mambos*. They know the Voodoo mythology and ritual and may summon the *loa* at will. The *hungans* and *mambos* are heads of autonomous cult groups — "there is no Voodoo liturgy and doctrine to which priests and priestesses are obliged to conform" — grouped around a sanctuary called an *humfo*. Voodoo ceremonies, from which the profane are not excluded, consist for the most part of dancing by the *hunsi* (assistants to the *hungan* and *mambo*) to the rhythms of Voodoo drums; that is, sacred drums which have been properly baptized.

Voodoo *loa* are divided into groups and sub-groups of extreme complexity, but the two main groups are the *Rada* family, derived from the town of Arada in Dahomey; and the *Petro* group, derived from *Don Pedro*, founder, says Moreau de Saint-Méry, of this particular cult in Saint-Domingue. The two groups may be easily distinguished by ritualistic details, and especially by their drum rhythms and musical instruments.

A testament of hope, a reaffirmation of the writer's belief in the essential health of the American democratic tradition.



THE NEGRO VANGUARD

by Richard Bardolph

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Haitian *loa* are believed to live in Africa (*nan Guinin*), under the water, or in trees and streams in Haiti. They are really secondary gods acting as intermedaries between their votaries and God. They incarnate the spirit or principle of the thing or atttribute of which they are symbols; therefore, when a man worships a *loa* he is showing reverence for a principle abstracted from reality and is not worshiping the *loa* as such. The Voodoo pantheon, however, is so vast that no one knows the thousands of gods who inhabit it.

This is, in outline, Haitian Voodoo, which is a far cry from the maggoty-imaginings of the *black books* written on the subject. Voodoo, as an African religious survival, is not peculiar to Haiti; it is found in many places in the Americas where there was African slavery. These survivals are variously called *Candomblé*, as they are in Brazil; *Santería* or *Lucumí*, in Cuba; *Obeah*, in Jamaica; and *Kromanti*, in Dutch Guiana.

Mr. Mètraux discusses other aspects of Voodoo than the ones mentioned in this review. He examines mystic marriages and celebrations, orientation rites, the cult of twins and the dead, divination, magic and sorcery, white magic, burial rites, zombis, and so on. But he discusses them all "from the point of view of an anthropologist," which means with "method and prudence." *Voodoo* is the best book available in English on this subject; it is not surpassed even by the best studies written by the Haitians themselves.

An index, 12-pages of bibliography, and a "Voodoo Glossary" help to make *Voodoo* a valuable reference work. One notices, however, frequent misspellings of proper names: "Melville T. Herskovits" for Melville J. Herskovits (p. 21) (in the original French the initial is "I"), "John Craig" instead of John Craigie (p. 55), "Zora Houston" for Zora Hurston (p. 281), Negro with a lower-case *n* (p. 343), as well as occasional examples of "translator's English": "victuals in the shape of" (p. 38) is surely an odd rendering for "de quoi se nourrir," as is "but this is as maybe" (*ibid.*) for "quoi qu'il en soit"; nor does "irregular in their offices" (p. 54) translate "pratiquant sans règularité" any more than "there and then" (p. 245) correctly translates "en ce même instant."

JAMES W. IVY

SYMPATHETIC BIOGRAPHY

***Crusader Without Violence:* A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr. By L. D. Reddick. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959. 243pp. $3.95.**

Dr. L. D. Reddick, chairman of the department of history at Alabama State College, has written an informal and sympathetic biography of his friend, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that will appeal to the general reader. The outline of the young minister who rose to national fame before he reached his thirtieth birthday is well known, but Dr. Reddick fills in the outline with vivid background chapters on King's parents, Atlanta, and Morehouse Col-

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lege. Young King was unwilling to rest on his father's laurels and to settle down in Atlanta, but instead insisted on striking out on his own. After graduating from Morehouse, King prepared for the Baptist ministry at Crozer Theological Seminary and then attended Boston University, where he eventually was awarded the Ph.D. degree. In May, 1954, he assumed his present position as minister of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, a town whose name would soon be linked with his throughout the world.

In regards to the story of the Montgomery bus boycott, Dr. Reddick's book is more of a complement than a supplement to King's *Stride Toward Freedom*. As a result of the omissions in *Crusader Without Violence*, during the period of the most important activity that has yet occurred in the public life of Martin Luther King, Jr., the reader will have difficulty piecing the story of the boycott together without the aid of the earlier book. Since both authors worked closely together in the writing of their respective books, this reviewer feels that it is indeed unfortunate that they didn't combine their efforts into one book, which would have resulted in a major document.

While King was a student at Crozer, he became "fired up" about Gandhi and read all the books about him that he could lay his hands on. After the Montgomery boycott had started in December, 1955, King was still not a complete convert to the Gandhi principle of nonviolent resistance. According to Reddick, the eventual conversion of the boycott to the philosophy of Gandhi was due to the intellectual inclinations of King and the practical realities: Negroes found it difficult to get arms and they knew the opposition had the preponderance of power. In a lengthy chapter Reddick explores the role of the mass media of communication in focusing upon King as the chief individual in the Montgomery story; this was decisive in shaping the King image as it took form in the public mind. If repetition helped in the making of the Gandhi-King image, then this book is a good example, for Gandhi's name appears on twenty-three different pages. When the author states, as a matter of fact, that King was actually willing to lay down his life for the cause, it would appear that he too has become a victim of the image.

Though the quotes from the various citations and awards King has received are interesting, they tend to be repetitious. It is regrettable that the author does not elaborate upon some of his striking implications. For example, as a consequence of the boycott and the resulting controversy, no public school or college in the South would employ Dr. King's wife, even though she had been educated at Antioch and the New England Conservatory of Music. According to Reddick, when Dr. King discussed with White House Officials during the summer of 1958 the names of proposed delegates to confer with President Eisenhower on the necessity for civil-rights legislation, the Administration "shrank" from meeting with Roy Wilkins because "he personified that horned devil NAACP." One might also want further insight as to why Mrs. Izola Curry's insane attack on Dr. King, which nearly ended in tragedy, might still be considered as part of a plot to destroy the leader.

SHERMAN MERRILL

SHERMAN MERRILL is an instructor in history at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland.

MOTEL

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POLISHED BRILLIANCE

***The Maxims of La Rochefoucauld.* Translated by Louis Kronenberger. New York: Random House, 1959. 158pp. $3.50.**

Mr. Kronenberger has made a fine translation of the *Maximes*. His English version reflects both the epigrammatism and the polished brilliance of the originals, and he has an "Introduction" which helps the reader by explaining both La Rochefoucauld's personal experiences as well as his 17th-century French background.

François VI, at first Prince de Marcillac, and then Duc de La Rochefoucauld, began his career at the age of fifteen as a colonel in the French army. He was involved in the wars of La Fronde; the politics and intrigues of the dissolute count of Louis XIII; intrigues against Richelieu; and was badly wounded in the siege of Paris and at the Battle of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. Disillusioned, he retired from public life, after some twenty years of fighting and intriguing, to devote his time to witty conversation with "virtuous people." He especially enjoyed the company of Mme de Sablé, in whose salon he first tried out his maxims; Mme de Sévigné, and Mme de La Fayette.

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His personal disillusionment, and what Mr. Kronenberger calls his "too special a world," is responsible for La Rochefoucauld's "excessively cynical streak" and his acid comments on mankind. The perpetual burden of the Duc's doctrine, the ultimate essence of the human spirit he insists, is that men are actuated by self-interest; that even apparently disinterested actions are motivated by selfishness. And a "truly honest man," he writes, "never fancies himself." One must remark, however, that he does not apply his doctrine to paternal or maternal love, or love of country, and that he frequently qualifies his statements by "often" or "usually" or "with most men."

Here are some of the things La Rochefoucauld points out:

"We praise and disparage most things because it is the accepted thing to do."

"Bodily toil blots out mental worry and strife, which is how poor people are made happy."

"Most people judge others simply by how prosperous or popular they are."

"There are dressed up lies which imitate the truth so well that it would be poor judgement not to let them deceive us."

"Chance and personal whim govern the world."

"It is easier to know mankind in general than any particular man."

"A neighbor's ill fortune pleases friends and enemies alike."

"We always like people who admire us; we do not always like people we admire."

J.W.I.

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